









(ORIGINAL SERIAL STORY.)

# THE WAYS OF THE WORLD.

BY JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.

## CHAPTER IV. THE POLITICIANS.

Thomas Northrup was a very busy man, and naturally enough, being both lawyer and politician. He allowed politics to occupy so much of his time that he was obliged to overwork in order to perform his legal duties. He often dined down town, and remained studying and writing in his office until a late hour, and not infrequently prepared cases at home, where he kept part of his law library, especially duplicate volumes of reference and authority. He was ambitious both as a lawyer and a politician, though he regarded eminence in the profession chiefly as an aid to political advancement. He had already been a member of the Assembly and a State Senator, and had also held one or two important though not lucrative municipal offices. He had higher aspirations, however; he wanted, among other things, to go to Congress, to be a national Senator and Governor of the State.

By no means a vulgar politician—he did not seek place for sake of plunder—he was necessarily leagued, being on the side of numerical strength in New York city, with most unscrupulous, corrupt men, at whose character and transgressions he was compelled to blink on behalf of the party and his standing therein.

Inside of 50, he had acquired wealth by his practice—he had the management of several commercial cases of consequence—and was absorbed in the two professions he had so ardently embraced. Whether domestic by disposition or not, it would be hard to decide: he was not, assuredly, domestic in fact, owing, perhaps, to circumstances. His wife, whom he had found early in an interior town, loved him with such an approach to worship as not to demand, or indeed to feel the need of active reciprocity. Whatever Thomas did, or failed to do, he was absolutely right, in her eyes; there could be no sound ethical law independent of or at variance with his conduct. Her mind was narrow, and could not be broadened; his was capable of expansion and continual growth. She was domestic to the core. When she went to New York to reside, she could not take it in; it was too large for her, and to her later surroundings she had never grown accustomed. She had borne four children, two boys and two girls, and all of them except Elise (she had been christened Eliza, after her mother) had died at a tender age, in consequence, her friends thought, of over-care. The loss of her children had augmented her repugnance to society, also her theologic fervor, to which she had been inclined from the first by a wistful and gloomy temperament. She was always so intent on her children in Heaven, as she expressed it, that her single remaining child on earth received very little of her thought.

Mrs. Northrup prayed much and long, and prayer, she was fond of saying, afforded her the greatest comfort and consolation, though nobody who had seen her distressed face and depressed manner would have had the remotest suspicion of the fact. She saw but little of her husband or daughter, but she daily besought God to watch over and guide them; and so complete was her faith in Him, that she might have regarded any active exercise of her domestic duties as interference with the will of Divine Providence.

Although the present was not the season of politics, political managers, of whom Northrup was one, always felt more or less called upon to serve their own interests, or those of their party, which they are apt to consider identical. Within a fortnight after the reception at his house, at which Mrs. Northrup had, as usual on social occasions, been so dim and shadowy a figure as to make no impression on her guests, he attended a meeting of his party to arrange for the next campaign, whose results were expected, of course, to have extraordinary influence.

The hall, in Fourteenth street, was small, and the meeting, being in the nature of a caucus, was designed to include the wire-pullers mainly—not the blind, irresponsible obeyers of party behests. The fact, however, that the meeting was to be held had reached the ears of these, and a number of them had appeared before the hour, and demanded admittance. The worst specimens were either foreign or of foreign extraction, as, in truth, many of the magnates were. Their peculiar features, as well as their accent, betrayed their nationality. They seemed to suspect that some important action was to be taken to their detriment, and the suspicion made them ugly and venomous. Some of them were partially intoxicated, and were growling out threats, mingled with profanity, against various men mentioned with familiar violence. It was the snarl of the cur at his master, who with a kick would soon reduce the cross beast to submission.

Before the meeting had been called to order, Northrup, who was seated near one of his political associates of his own race, ran his eye over some of the fellows of the baser sort, and said: "I find it hard sometimes, Porter, to resist my disgust for some of my constituents. They do not seem like men; they are brutes in feature, not less than in nature. It is enough to convert any thoughtful man to Darwinism to attend our conclaves. Look at that noxious creature, just opposite! He appears to be a cross between a baboon and a hyena; and there are thousands like him. I'll venture to say that he'd commit murder for five dollars, and would steal on instinct. It's an outrage on intelligent government to give such wretches a vote. It's like putting a torch into the hands of a drunken ruffian, who is abusing you in your own home. Bah! it isn't easy to be a drunkard, and it isn't easy to be a politician, and it isn't easy to be a man."

"Who tells them to vote fraudulently? Certainly I don't."

"No not you nor I, individually; but we do, indirectly."

"Damnation! Yes; I suppose we do. At times I think I'll quit the damned party; wash my hands of it, and be clean for once. Don't you feel frequently as if you wanted a moral Turkish bath, Porter?"

"Yes; but the feeling is incident to politics generally. If you leave one party and join another, it's much the same thing. Politics is not principle; it is a game to win. We must employ such material as we have to insure success."

"We do; don't we? In this town we carry things about as far as we can, I should say."

"No further than the other party would if they had our opportunities, and the same elements to deal with."

"Probably not, Porter. But I do wish that the rank and file of our party looked a little better, and didn't—pshaw!—offend the senses quite so much."

Half an hour later Northrup harangued his "friends and fellow-citizens" (falsely eulogized the nationality that constituted the strength of his party, and proclaimed himself a lover of the common People in every land, but particularly in his own).

As he was going out of the meeting Porter seized him by the arm and whispered in his ear, "You have made amends in your speech for the unworthy opinion you have privately expressed of a noble and generous race."

"Yes, I have; damn them!"

As Northrup was on his way home he stopped at the Rensselaer Club, and met James Rivers, who had just come from the office—it was now past midnight—to look at a back number of the *North American Review*. The politician, who took pains to cultivate the journalist on account of his profession, asked him to join him in a glass of sherry; and while they were sipping it, they hit upon politics through the elder asking the younger his views of the next State election.

"I like to hear your ideas because you are independent, and not biased, therefore, as members of the two great parties are likely to be."

"No doubt I am biased; everybody must be; though I don't care a fig for parties. I imagine that if I were in politics, I should be called ideal, visionary."

"Why so?"

"Because I don't believe in universal suffrage. I think, unless suffrage be restricted, that the Republic will be ruined in time by the votes of the ignorant and lawless populace."

"That is not republicanism; it is sheer aristocracy. You wouldn't set aside the will of the People—would you?"

"Most decidedly, unless the People were capable of voting intelligently on any and every public question presented to them."

"How would you manage the franchise, Rivers? Your plans would be impracticable. Having once given the People the suffrage, you can not deprive them of it—that would be retroactive and unconstitutional."

"I would not take the suffrage away from the persons who had exercised it. I would have an amendment made to the Constitution; at least a national law passed, that, after a certain time, two or three generations ahead, nobody should be allowed to vote in this country who had not a certain degree of education; and on financial questions, there should be a property qualification."

"That would never do, Rivers. The People would never submit to be deprived of their rights."

"The People? The demagogues you mean, who have been the curse of every republic that has existed. The People would be well enough, if the demagogues would not tamper with them. 'Rights of the People' is a sounding phrase, altogether vague, which has done incalculable mischief, and will do far more."

"But you must remember, Rivers, that no government which has ignored those rights has ever lasted."

"Rights of the People, you will allow me to say, Northrup, with all due deference to you, is a mere catch-phrase which designing leaders have employed to cajole and betray the People. Would you, or any American, pretend that it is a right of every man born on this globe to vote in the United States?"

"Isn't that extreme way of putting it?"

"No. That is just what our present naturalization laws amount to. It's a mistake to suppose that to vote is a right; it is a privilege. Every man should prove himself worthy of the privilege before he is permitted to exercise it."

"You're a political theorist, Rivers. Your views might answer for an ideal republic, like Plato's, but not for an actual government like ours."

"I told you that I should be called visionary, though I maintain that I am not. Imagine that it should be determined by the will of the nation that from and after 1900, nobody should be entitled to the elective franchise who had not the rudiments of education. Who would be injured by that? It would affect no one now living. It would not discriminate against any individual or any class."

"Yes, it would, Rivers. Then, as now, many of our foreign population would be disfranchised by such an enactment."

"So much the better, Northrup. They could qualify themselves, if they would. The fact that they won't proves their unfitness to be citizens."

"Why, don't you think our foreign element a great help to us?"

"Not, as a whole, politically; indeed the very reverse. They would be a help, were they intelligent, industrious, law-abiding; but most of them are the opposite. You know better than myself what our foreign population in this city is, and has been for years. It embraces many of the worst and most dangerous characters that can be found anywhere. If twenty thousand of them might be struck with lightning to-night, the country and civilization would be immeasurably benefited."

"You're extravagant, aren't you, Rivers, in your statements?"

"Not a whit. Lightning that would do that would represent electric ethics. This city is governed by a foreign host without reason or principle. It is more like a great wild beast than anything else. The city governs the State; the State usually determines the general election. So the President of the United States may be said to be chosen by an ignorant, vicious mob. This is surely a comforting reflection for a native American citizen of mind and character."

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"You seem to me to exaggerate. The very bad foreigners who are politically active here are few, I imagine. You wouldn't certainly ostracize all foreigners because some of them have grave faults?"

"Not for the reason you assign, Northrup. But, if I had my way, I'd confer political privileges on no more foreigners. They might come here and welcome; but they shouldn't vote. I wouldn't deprive those who have been naturalized of the franchise; but I wouldn't increase the number."

"You would injure the country irreparably. Foreigners have been of untold advantage to us."

"Yes, in the past. The framers of the Constitution were wise to invite them hither, and offer them citizenship. But they could not see the future; they did not anticipate our growth and greatness. If they had done so, they would, doubtless, have limited naturalization. I am not sure that it wouldn't be well, if we could build an insurmountable wall around the Republic, shutting out all foreigners. Then we could develop entirely from within. The present danger is, unquestionably, from foreigners of the ignorant kind."

"Would you exclude foreigners from your new order of things in 1900?"

"No; my idea about foreigners is, as I may say, only private and individual. I shouldn't introduce it into any political scheme. I should have admitted to the elective franchise in 1900 all educated adults, irrespective of race, or race or intelligence means morality. The Republic would be safe in the hands of educated citizens. Culture is salvation, in the best sense; it is all that the world needs, the assurance of the highest and most general civilization."

"Have you any belief that the 1900 plan could ever be adopted, Rivers?"

"It couldn't be now; it might be then; for the world, especially the American world, moves rapidly."

"I beg to differ from you. The plan might be accepted to-day, as it would affect only unborn generations. When the time had actually arrived, the plan would be rejected; for the future would then have become the present. The People would be opposed."

"The demagogues, you mean, Northrup; they are always the obstacles to true progress. But they are steadily losing their hold. As public intelligence rises, they decline. In another century, they will, in my judgment, have little influence. I am too good an American to despair of the Republic. We Americans, although appearances may contradict, are among the most conservative of nations. They who talk of anarchy, military government, dictatorships and the like, are either insane or incapable of understanding our people. I may have written that sort of thing myself; but it was all for effect. As an American citizen, I have unbounded faith in our future and permanence."

"And speaking out of party, Rivers, as he grasped his hand, 'I agree with you entirely.'"

## OUR BOOK TABLE.

NEW MUSIC—WHITTIER—CRITICISM OF SHAKESPEARE.

On Reading—Thomas Carlyle—History of the Civil War—Books for Children—Country Byways.

CAMPIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR.—"The Outbreak of Rebellion," by John G. Nicolay, Private Secretary to President Lincoln, etc. "From Fort Henry to Corinth," by the Hon. M. F. Force, Justice of the Supreme Court, etc. "General and Chief of Staff," by John C. Ropes, member of the Military Society of Massachusetts. "The Antislavery and Frederick Douglass," by Francis Pickens, late Governor of South Carolina. "The Army of the Potomac, 1861-62," by General Commanding Second Division, General: Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, etc. "The Army of the Potomac, 1862-63," by John C. Ropes, member of the Military Society of Massachusetts. "The Antislavery and Frederick Douglass," by Francis Pickens, late Governor of South Carolina. "The Army of the Potomac, 1861-62," by General Commanding Second Division, General: Chief of Staff, Army of the Potomac, etc. "The Army of the Potomac, 1862-63," by John C. Ropes, member of the Military Society of Massachusetts. 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Place	Barometer	Thermometer	Wind	Direction	Force	State of sky	State of weather
San Francisco	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Jose	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Diego	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Antonio	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Luis Obispo	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Bernardino	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Gabriel	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Jose de Guzman	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Juan de los Rios	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear
San Mateo	30.1	58	N. E.	Light	Clear	Cloudy	Clear

Maximum temperature, 55; minimum, 32.

Rain above low-water mark, 8 ft. 11 in.

JAMES A. BARWICK, Sacramento, Nov. 18, 1893, U. S. A.

## THE WEEKLY UNION

In a paper of special value. It is issued in semi-weekly parts, each of eight pages, and appears Wednesday and Saturday. It is the largest weekly paper on the coast, and the only one which goes out to its readers twice a week. It is a journal of the highest character for news, literary and general information. It contains all the special departments of the Daily Record-Union, and is, without exception, the best family newspaper on the Pacific coast. The Weekly Union is mailed post paid for \$1.50 per year.

## THIS MORNING'S NEWS.

In New York Government bonds are quoted at 110 1/2 for 4s of 1907; 112 1/2 for 4 1/2s; 101 1/2 for 5 1/2s; sterling, \$1 1/4 for 4 1/2s; silver bars, 112 1/2.

Silver in London, 51 1/4-101; consols, 100 1/2-101; 5 percent, United States bonds, extended, 105 1/2; 1893, 4 1/2, 112 1/2.

In San Francisco half dollars are quoted at 1 1/2 discount to par; Mexican dollars, 92 1/2@93.

Mining stocks were a little better in San Francisco yesterday, and nearly all the Comstock descriptions showed a small advance.

Farmers who put their rent in Ireland continue to be fired upon by evicted parties.

Lavson, of the London Daily Telegraph, has bought the Duke of Westminster's estate for £200,000.

The imbecile asylum near Columbus, O., was destroyed by the yesterday.

The Chicago Health Department is using every effort against the spread of small-pox in that city.

The British bark Lord, from Hull to San Francisco, has been burned at sea.

The population of the United States has been determined to be 50,157,780.

The thieves who stole the registered letters in London Thursday night got away with about £100,000 worth of diamonds.

The funeral of Mrs. Edwin Root took place in Chicago yesterday, and was attended by an immense concourse of people.

In northern Minnesota yesterday the thermometer marked 5° below zero.

P. Finny shot himself three times at Cleveland yesterday, but failed to inflict a fatal wound.

The British ship Edith Lorne, which went ashore near Astoria, Or., is said to be a total loss.

The Sunday law is being vigorously enforced in Monterey county.

Fire at Lithron, San Joaquin county.

Fifteen thousand young salmon arrived at Watsonville yesterday, to be distributed among the streams in that vicinity.

Rev. Benjamin R. Johnson died suddenly of heart disease at Napa yesterday.

Printing is to be one of the branches taught in the San Jose High School.

Chile has ratified the boundary treaty with the Argentine Republic.

The Dixon Allen held case at San Jose will go to the jury about noon today.

Trouble is anticipated with striking miners at Cannetown, W. Va.

An express package containing \$5,000 was stolen yesterday at Grayling, Mich.

Some of the prominent Boston banks are in financial trouble.

At Auburn yesterday the trial of the train-wreckers was adjourned until Monday.

W. C. Moody was seriously injured by a fall at Stockton yesterday.

There is telephone connection now between Stockton and Union Hill, a distance of 18 miles.

The trial by Court-martial of Bandi Jim, the Indian chief, will be concluded at Fort Grant, A. T., today.

A clergyman is on trial at Hartford, Tulare county, for publishing obscene literature.

M. Anderson is on trial at Clay Center, Neb., for poisoning S. J. Johnson.

Trains are delayed on the Union Pacific Railroad by snow.

The real estate transactions at Portland, Or., this week, amounted to \$32,169.

The business failures in the United States this week number 125, against 147 last week.

Emperor William has so far recovered as to be able to drive out.

The Count of Logone has been assassinated in Cuba, causing his widow to become insane.

At Albuquerque, N. M., Wednesday night, John Biddell was fatally shot by a man named Kelly.

Track-laying has begun on the Georgia Pacific Railway.

In the recent Pennsylvania election, Bailey's plurality for State Treasurer was 6,864.

It has been decided in Court at Montreal that the Orange Society is illegal.

Fire at Hopkinton, Mass.; Halifax, N. S.; Ennis-Killen, Ont.; Conshohocken, Pa.

S. Dolge, a wealthy and prominent citizen, drowned himself Thursday at Waupun, Wis.

A gambler known as "Bodie" Smith fatally shot M. F. Patterson at Woodland yesterday morning.

George Green was found dead in one of the streets of Marysville yesterday.

Yesterday's proceedings in the "debris case" will be found this morning upon the last page.

In the Guilean trial at Washington yesterday several exciting scenes took place, and Scottie, counsel for the prisoner, made a public announcement that the defense in the case would be insanity.

Attention is directed to-day to the superior quality of the matter contained in the inside pages of the Record-Union.

## WANTED—A CHRISTMAS STORY.

The Record-Union will pay fifty dollars (\$50) for the best Christmas story, not less than ten nor more than fifteen columns in length. To assist competitors in gauging the length of their contributions, we may as well state that a column of the type in which the story is to be set contains about 1,000 words, and that a legal folio contains 100 words. Those who wish to compete for the prize will be free to choose their own subject and to place their stories where they please. The story must be delivered at the Record-Union office by the 15th of December, in order to allow sufficient time for their examination. This is a good opportunity for aspiring authors who feel that they would be the better for a little extra pocket-money at Christmas.

## THE GUITEAU TRIAL.

As the trial proceeds Guiteau's behavior appears to become more eccentric, but though superficial observers insist on imagining that he is only following a concerted plan in these methods, there is really no warrant for any such conclusion. The fact is that the man's whole history shows him to be wanting in mental balance. He is certainly not insane in the sense of being irresponsible, but as certainly he is not sane in the sense that Judge Cox is sane. The circumstances in which he now finds himself are well calculated to make a much better balanced man nervous and excitable, and therefore he is probably more demonstrative than usual. But he has thus far neither said nor done anything which a skilled alienist would accept for a moment as proof of insanity. He is a man of inordinate conceit, and it is this conceit which is manifesting itself now. He thinks that he is better able to conduct his case than Scoville or Robinson are. He wants to direct them in everything, and will brook no opposition. All this is evidence of an ill-balanced mind, but it is not insanity. In fact the more we see of Guiteau the more firmly we are convinced that he is quite sane enough to be hanged.

## THE RIFT WITHIN THE LUTE.

The recent political contest in the State of Virginia is regarded by those Republicans who are mere partisans as a triumph for their party. Such as these do not look before them, nor do they ask what principles have been established so long as a party success is assured. But the Virginia election is one of those pivotal events which change the attitude of parties, for it involves the commitment of the Republican party to the doctrine of repudiation. Of this unfortunately there can be no doubt, however partisan journals may try to obscure the fact. The debt of Virginia was contracted before the war, and it represents sums expended honestly and profitably in internal improvements of various kinds. When the State of West Virginia was created out of a part of Virginia, one-third of the original debt was charged to the new State as her share of the obligation. There remained a debt of nearly \$33,000,000, which Virginia lawfully owed, and which it was her duty as an honest State to pay. The Mahone party, or Readjusters, as they call themselves, have undertaken to repudiate \$13,000,000 of this amount, and propose to pay no more than \$20,000,000. There is no excuse for this. It is not pretended that any part of the debt was unlawfully or dishonestly contracted. It was not the result of "carpet-bag" government. It was in all respects as binding an obligation as could exist. The Mahone faction, embracing nearly all the negroes, whose ignorance is their excuse, and a great many white men who know better, has now carried the State on the distinct basis of this repudiation programme; and it has achieved this success mainly by the open and pronounced assistance of the Administration. It is this which constitutes the sinister significance of the event. Had Mahone relied upon his own resources, and had he by adroit demagogism succeeded in capturing his State, the fact would have been matter for regret, but it would not have committed the Republican party to the doctrine of repudiation.

This has been done avowedly for the purpose of breaking the "solid South," and it may have that effect. But that it will have other and much more disastrous consequences cannot be doubted by those who weigh the influence of such indecorous principles as it requires to be weighed. The Republican party has had the high honor of conducting the country thus far safely and creditably through very dangerous financial straits. Only a party standing as firmly for honest finance as it has done could have withstood the successive waves of repudiation sentiment which have passed over the country at short intervals ever since the close of the rebellion. The dishonest elements have during the past fifteen years been preying in their metamorphoses. They have assaulted the Treasury, now in one disguise, anon in another, always pretending a special regard for the interests of the people. They have tried every conceivable trick to circumvent the guardians of the national credit and honor. Under the pretense of reforming the currency, under the pretense of relieving the people from the burdens of taxation, under a score of equally specious pleas, they have returned to the attack, only to be beaten off ignominiously. But the national debt is not yet discharged, and there still remains enough of it to tempt the same dishonest elements, while for the first time the Republican party finds itself facing in the same direction with the advocates of repudiation.

It is idle to say that the Virginia example will go no further. The men who have been most active there know too well to what use the precedent they have created can be turned. And some of them are already on record as favoring national as well as state repudiation. At the late election a man was elected Governor of Virginia who years ago expressed himself as follows on this subject: "As to the full and final 'payment of the present enormous national debt, he that knows the American people and their utter deficiency in the 'high qualities of truth and integrity, knows that such an expectation is an 'idiot's dream. For ourselves, we shall 'rejoice when the crash comes. It is a 'debt contracted in the prosecution of an 'infamous and unnecessary war.' After the passage of the Riddleberger bill, which embodies the repudiation scheme, the Attorney-General of Virginia declared that he was in favor of 'the vigorous application of the principle of readjustment to the 'national debt.' And that is what rational men must apprehend that it will come to. The Virginia campaign was the insertion of the thin end of the wedge. To secure a purely partisan victory the Republican leaders have thus committed the party to a doctrine which traverses its whole record, and which threatens to frustrate its future endeavors to protect the national honor.

This is indeed a sacrifice of substance for shadow. For what use is the Republican party save as it can help the country, or how can it continue to have a reason for existence if it is committed to the side of her worst enemies? For the moment shallow partisans may rejoice over the management which has enabled them to break the ranks of the "solid South," but the victory has been purchased at the sacrifice of that which was better worth possessing than all the South put together. A Republican party which indorses repudiation cannot expect to retain the support of those who joined it because it was firm against that very infamy. The rank-and-file who have no axes to grind will not regard this shameful abandonment of principle as a light matter. It is no longer possible to reproach the Democrats with being double-faced and supple and time-serving. Republicans have excelled them at their own favorite strategy, and the Republican party is dishonored by the base demagoguery. This Virginia election is the "rift within the lute," and it will spread. Henceforward there is no party in the United States which has a clear record on repudiation, and that one fact will encourage the dishonest elements to renewed audacity, and may be said almost to render effective defense against them impossible. Decidedly the Virginia election is a bad business.

## SEAMEN'S WAGES.

Mr. C. T. Hopkins has read a paper before the San Francisco Social Science Association, in which, among many very foolish and crude ideas, we find the suggestion that the practice of giving three months' advance wages to seamen should be stopped.

This is a good suggestion, though not perhaps for the reason Mr. Hopkins would give. The truth is that the custom of giving advanced wages to seamen is one of the most powerful supports of a system of virtual slavery, of which the seaman is the victim. On going ashore the seaman is instantly pounced upon by the sailor boarding-house keepers; a class of wretches who live by robbery, and who are a curse to every port they infest, throughout the civilized world. They have no title to be regarded as decent or law-abiding citizens. Their business consists in chicanery and swindling of the vilest kind. They first make their victims drunk. Then they fabricate heavy charges against them. Then they take them before the Shipping Commissioner, ship them, and obtain the advance note, out of which they perhaps provide five or six dollars worth of clothing. Now the average trip of a sea-going vessel between ports does not exceed three months, and thus it often happens that poor Jack is "working a dead horse" all the time. He is in fact sold into slavery by the boarding-house keepers, and when he makes the port for which he was shipped the chances are he has nothing, or next to nothing, coming to him. He is injured by the greed of the villainous boarding-house keepers in another way. Frequently they put him on board a ship without any outfit at all. In that case he must have recourse to the "alcohol-kept" by the captain, and as the latter expects to make a handsome profit on his investment, the seaman has to pay four prices for his boots, son-wester, dungaree clothing, oilskins and tobacco, and so again his wages are depleted. The custom of paying three months' wages in advance is most emphatically against the interest of the sailor, in fact. It is beneficial to the rascally boarding-house keepers alone, and Jack ought to be protected against these voracious land-sharks. But the seaman has no protection anywhere. He is given over—he gives himself over—an easy prey to the thieves of all kinds and both sexes that lie in wait for him from the moment his ship lets go her anchor until he signs articles and goes aboard on his next voyage. It is the indifference of governments to the welfare of the seafaring class that has so degraded it of late years. Good seamen are becoming harder to find every year. The truth is that no man with a grain of self-respect or ambition can put up with the atrocious treatment to which they are subjected, both afloat and ashore. Indeed, if the present state of affairs lasts much longer it is possible that shipowners will have to man their vessels with Chinese. Such a change would have at least one salutary consequence. It would prove the ruin of the present class of sailor boarding-house keepers.

## GAMBETTA'S POLICY.

Gambetta, in his speech to the Chamber of Deputies defining his policy, has given ample assurance of a peaceful and enlightened course. It is true that he does not hold out a very distinct hope of speedy reductions in the naval and military appropriations, for his declaration of a purpose to seek "without impairing the defensive power of France, the best method of relieving in the land and sea 'forces the burdens of the country.' " does not furnish this promise. If the defensive power of France is not to be impaired, neither will the army and navy be reduced. Gambetta, however, does undertake "to maintain with 'firmness order at home, and with dignity 'from abroad,' " and this certainly sounds very reassuring. His general outline is indeed comprehensive and satisfactory. He indicates a purpose to maintain the supremacy of the State over the religious orders; a purpose which his choice of M. Paul Bert for Minister of Public Instruction and Worship has indeed sufficiently emphasized. He proposes to "entirely 'relieve the financial burdens upon agriculture,' " which statement will be received by the farmers with enthusiasm, no doubt. He wishes "to fix by treaties an economic 'regime of various industries,' " which may be interpreted as meaning reciprocity with England. And he seeks "to give a greater 'impulse to the means of production, 'transportation and exchange, and the 'motion of social thrift,' " which suggests railroad and savings-bank legislation and currency reform. There is only one point wherein he touches upon a delicate subject in rather a dubious way. It is where he says: "The Government has testified 'to its desire to place, by constitutional 'laws, one of the essential powers of the 'State in more complete harmony with 'the democratic nature of our society.' " The tendency to interfere with the second chamber is one which all young democracies have experienced. It is natural and perhaps unavoidable, yet it is a very dangerous tendency. The upper chamber is always liable to become unpopular, whether it is ultra-conservative or not. In such a government as that of England its principle is hampered by the fact that it is arbitrarily composed. France has avoided that embarrassment, but she is not the less inclined to bring her second chamber more under popular control, and in this she is proceeding unwisely. Such a body, to be of any use, must be virtually independent. It must be as far removed from the people as the American Senate is. It must be beyond the possibility of coercion. If it is wanting in any of these qualifications it will eventually become a mere adjunct of the popular chamber, and when it becomes necessary to put on the brake, it will be discovered that there no longer exists any such mechanism. A popular second chamber would be a distinct menace to the republic, and Gambetta should comprehend this.

## WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG.

William Rathbone Greg, whose death the telegraph announced recently, was a writer who made his mark broad and deep upon the thought of the English-speaking peoples. He was a frequent contributor to the Pall Mall Gazette, but his reputation rests upon his published works, which are full of advanced ideas, set in a very powerful style. Perhaps the book of his which has attained the widest circulation is that entitled "The Creed of Christianity: Its Foundations and Superstructure," in which he examined the Christian religion in a very temperate and friendly but at the same time acute and convincing way. This book has been republished in the United States, and has found an ever-increasing sale for several years past. His other works were "The

"Enigmas of Life," a singularly thoughtful and suggestive inquiry into those questions which every man has at some time pondered, regarding the reasons of existing anomalies in life; "Rocks Ahead," the Warnings of Cassandra," a volume in which he endeavored to point out the commercial and manufacturing dangers of his native country, arising from foreign rivalry and the spread of socialist doctrines among the working classes; and a volume on "Mistaken Aims of the Working Classes," which dealt with cognate topics. Mr. Greg was a very robust and conscientious thinker, and all his books are wholesome and pregnant with new ideas. He lived to a good old age, and died knowing that he had done the work that came to his hand, faithfully and well.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF VENICE.

It seems possible that before long the Queen of the Adriatic will have ceased to possess those picturesque attractions which have made it so celebrated in the past. It is said that a steamship company has obtained the right to ply on the canals, and that the gondolas will consequently be driven off. And upon the heels of this comes the still more dreadful news that the authorities of Venice propose to fill up a number of the smaller canals, and make streets of them. Of course all these innovations are calculated to inflict great pain upon esthetic souls. We can well understand that Mr. Ruskin must be terribly shocked at the Philistinism of the Venetian magistrates. No doubt he wonders that the very "Stones of Venice" do not cry out against the sacrilege. To the noble army of artists and travelers the new projects signify only a distinct degradation of the venerable and famous city. And yet there is another side to the question. Venice, after all, is from the Venetian standpoint, a city whose inhabitants must make their own way in the world. They cannot exist on contemplation of the past glories of their burgh. They are bound, as commonsense mortals, to do with it that which will be most profitable to themselves. If the artists and esthetes were willing to pay for the preservation of the ancient Venice without change, and did so, the case would be altered. But no obligation rests upon the Venetians to maintain conditions which have long since ceased to be the most convenient or comfortable, merely because a number of people who live in other parts of the world admire the obsolete arrangements. And we are by no means sure that the world has not more to gain than to lose by the destruction of such altars of the Dead Past, as old Venice has long constituted. The worship of the dead past can only paralyze the living present, and it is well to remember that the very excellencies we prize in the works of the old architects and sculptors and painters and metal-workers were due to their emancipation from their predecessors, and therefore speak to us only of a love of originality which our art critics have done too much to repress. The root-faults of every masterpiece are to be found in Nature, and Nature never ages. If then modern art is not less virile than that of a far lower grade of civilization, it must possess the power to build up from this ever-open treasury creations surpassing alike in conception and detail the works over which so undiscriminating and profuse a praise has been lavished.

## SURPRISED STALWARTS.

It is said that President Arthur has surprised many stalwarts by turning a deaf ear to their suggestions that such-and-such office-holders should be discharged because they were not "good Grant men." To these applications the President is said to have replied that the term "good Grant men" had no meaning for him now. That he represented the entire Republican party, and that he could not entertain any proposals for the ousting of men against whom no cause of offense was shown. If President Arthur really said this he showed a capacity for rising above faction which is to say the least, encouraging. It would be good news to hear that he had gone farther, and recognized his obligation to rise not merely above faction, but above party. He is the President of the United States, and this includes a great deal more than the Republican party. When the President realizes that, the country will have approached very much nearer Civil Service reform than it has yet succeeded in doing.

## SAN FRANCISCO SUPERVISORS.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors have been washing their dirty linen in public. At their last meeting one of their members accused the majority of being "a set of scoundrels," said that it would be necessary "to hang them as high as Haman," and told them in so many words that they had been caught to do what they were doing. Of course this stirred up unpleasant feeling, and another member, being evidently too angry to measure his words, retorted that his colleague always denounced the steals to which he had not been admitted. It is seldom that so hideously candid a confession as this is made. There are steals in the San Francisco Supervisors, then, and the members do not deny it. But they think it contemptible conduct for a colleague to denounce a steal merely because he is not "in it." We wonder what the people of San Francisco think of their Supervisors.

## THE RENEGADE SCOUTS.

The trial of the renegade scouts for their conduct at Cibola appears to have resulted in the production of evidence which quite clearly convicts them of having fired upon the troops. The scout who killed Captain Hentig has been identified, and also one who killed Private Livingston. There is no more heinous offense in military matters than these men have been guilty of, and they will no doubt be sentenced to death. Treachery among the Indian and half-breed scouts must be speedily punished, or it will be impossible to employ them again in the pursuit of hostile Indians.

The Lyon county (Nev.) Times says a party of capitalists and engineers have been studying the engineering possibilities, and the probable financial success of a scheme to tunnel into Lake Tahoe and conduct its water to San Francisco. As the lake is owned equally by the States of California and Nevada, we of this State will have something to say for or against the project. As the water from the lake all flows into Nevada through the Truckee it will be hard to ask business men and ranchers situated along its course to give up their rights, and it will take some very unpopular legislation on that subject. [The

## BOOK REVIEW.

THE SHAKESPEAREAN MYTH—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE AND CHRISTIANITY. BY ADRIAN MOORE. A. M. L. B. (Glasgow); Robert Clarke & Co.

There are few historical characters of whom the world desires to know more than of Shakespeare, and there are few of whom it knows less. His life, apart from his works, is very nearly a blank. Stevens wrote: "All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare, is that he 'was born at Stratford-upon-Avon; married 'and had children there; went to London, 'where he commenced acting, and wrote 'poems and plays; returned to Stratford, 'made his will, died, and was buried.' " And beyond these bald facts, what has been discovered amounts to very little more than a dim gossip tradition, to which no certain credence can be given. But what is most remarkable about the little we do know concerning Shakespeare, is that scarcely anything of it seems to belong to such a character as the splendor of his literary works justifies us in ascribing to their author. Nor is it only that there is an incongruity between the works and what little is known of the man, but there appears to have been in the career so faintly outlined very little opportunity for the acquisition of that knowledge, not only of men and things but of books, which is so abundantly exhibited in the Shakespearean plays and poems. In fact the Shakespeare of tradition falls so far short of the ideal Shakespeare that commentators have had to tug and strain to make the account of the man correspond in any respect with the works implied to him, and through bewildering on this point there has grown up a little school of skeptics who think they are taking a short cut out of the difficulty by flatly denying that Shakespeare wrote the plays and poems which bear his name.

Had it been possible to drop the matter at this point the skeptics would have had a tolerably good case, for it is undoubtedly very hard to accept the portrait which has been handed down to us as that of the man who really was, "not for an age, but for all 'time.' " Comparatively low-born—for the story of the herald's college does not seem to be borne out as far as Shakespeare's paternal house is concerned; reared in ignorance, or with no more education than a few terms at a country school could supply; marrying ill at eighteen; going to London and there leading a life of poverty and struggle; doing all his work about a theater, for a living; appearing next as a stage manager, preparing plays for a busy, bustling and hurrying audience, with no time for study; displaying soon as he began to prosper a thoroughly bourgeois instinct for the material comforts of life; buying land, lending money at interest, acting whenever he is seen in a plodding, sordid fashion; presently, when he has made his fortune, returning to Stratford, and thenceforward seeming to take no interest in his writings; and finally dying, as our tradition has it, from the effects of a debauch, without leaving in his will any reference of any kind to those literary works which were not only destined to be the glory of his nation and of the world, but which were even then recognized as the productions of a transcendent genius. Who that follows this strange history can fail to be perplexed by the discrepancy of the facts with the theory? It is no wonder that some bolder spirits among the students of the subject should have rejected the current tradition in despair, and sought elsewhere than in the person of the Stratford-upon-Avon man for the author of these matchless works. For though a whole literature has grown up of books treating of the special knowledge of Shakespeare, there is nothing known of his life which gives the faintest clue to the manner in which he became possessed of this encyclopedic knowledge. And so it is that the volume before us excites in us no sentiment of resentment at what Shakespeare-worshippers may think the flat blasphemy of the author, but only a feeling of mingled admiration and regret; admiration for the laborious research and ingenious argument; regret for the unavoidable failure attaching to such an enterprise.

For it is plain that though it may be possible to make a very plausible showing against the theory that Shakespeare was the author of the works which pass under his name, the new view is comparatively worthless unless it can be shown with at least equal plausibility that some other person or persons wrote these works. And here is the fatal breach in Mr. Morgan's argument. He does not follow Dila Bacon and Judge Holmes in assuming Lord Bacon to have been the author of the plays, but he proposes what is, if not a more difficult, certainly a wider hypothesis, viz., that the plays were written by a group of men of genius who for state reasons were obliged to maintain their anonymity. But we will let Mr. Morgan speak for himself on this head. "It is the 'New Theory,' he says in contradiction to the Baconian Theory, 'that, while 'in employment in the theater, William 'Shakespeare was approached by certain 'gentlemen of the court. Perhaps their 'names were Southampton, Raleigh, Essex, 'Rutland and Montgomery, and possibly 'among them was a needy and ambitious scholar named Bacon, who, 'with an eye to preferment, maintained 'their society by secret resort to the Jews, 'or to anything that would put gold for the 'day in his purse. Possibly they desired to 'be unknown, for the reasons given by 'Miss Bacon. In what they asked of him, 'and what he did for them, he found, 'any rate, his profit.' This, in brief, is Mr. Morgan's theory, and while it is supported in a very ingenious manner, it is not hesitated to assert that it is in all respects far more credible and extravagant than the theory it intended to supplant. It is a trite observation that skeptics are often the most credulous of people, but it has seldom been more strikingly illustrated than in Mr. Morgan's case. Certainly it may be said of him that he "strains out a grain, and swallows a camel." For if there is no satisfactory explanation of the manner in which Shakespeare obtained the height of intellectual development displayed in the works which bear his name, he attempts to establish this new secret literary club is beset with difficulties to which those of the other case are mere bagatelles.

In the first place the suggestion that half a dozen, or less or more, men, wrote the Shakespearean plays and poems, is of itself entirely incompatible with the literary character of the works themselves. Nothing is more certain than that the bulk of the works was written by one hand. There are some plays into which journey-work enters. There is at least one "Titus Andronicus" which may contain nothing of the central author's genius. But no man who has studied the plays can doubt for a moment that a single hand performed nine-tenths of the work, or that this single hand was that of a genius the like of whom will be sought in vain outside those pages. The new theory would perhaps posit Bacon as the central figure. But it is necessary to point out that the whole Baconian theory rests upon a really amazing incapacity to appreciate the nature of the distinctions between the literary character of Bacon's and Shakespeare's work. In truth there is but one point of resemblance between the two, and that is in the habit of compressing ideas closely, so as to pack a sentence as full of thought as possible. This Bacon and Shakespeare

possess in common. But apart from this their styles are radically different. Bacon has written nothing under his own name which possesses the Shakespearean style, the very essence of which is sympathy. Now the writings of Bacon, however wise and subtle and suggestive, are conspicuously wanting in this particular quality. They are completely and even remarkably unsympathetic. They are cold, calm, philosophic, at times almost poetical, but they never display that marvelous acquaintance with humanity, that profound sympathy with its passions and weaknesses and aspirations, which constitute the secret of Shakespeare's powers. In Shakespeare, therefore, for an author who could have written these plays, we must go beyond my Lord Bacon, and find when we are obliged to exclude him there remains no other man capable of performing the work. Raleigh was a poet, and wrote a history, though he was no historian. But nothing of Raleigh's survives which could warrant us in supposing him capable of reaching up to the level of these plays and poems. As for the others, Southampton, Essex, Rutland and Montgomery, it would be as easy to persuade us that Lyly, Peele, Green, Chettle, or any of that school wrote Shakespeare's plays, as that these intellectual giants were capable of such a feat.

But having shown that the names suggested cannot be accepted as even possible substitutes for Shakespeare, it is necessary to point out the inherent absurdities of Mr. Morgan's hypothesis. The idea that these or any other half dozen men could have carried out such a scheme successfully; that none of them felt the least desire to enjoy the fame their works had earned; that a secret so widely known could have been kept from all their contemporaries, and have found no exposure in all literature; that this is nothing less than preposterous, and to credit it would demand a far grosser and blinder credulity than that with which Mr. Morgan taunts the believers in Shakespeare. Nor is contemporary history less against his new theory, where the question of Shakespeare's status is concerned. The evidence in support of the fact that all his own contemporaries regarded him as the author of the plays and poems bearing his name, is abundant. The statements of Ben Jonson, both in verse and prose, are emphatic on this head. Mr. Morgan quotes from the "Discoveries" to show that Jonson eulogized Bacon as highly in prose as he had done Shakespeare in verse, but of course this does not prove anything beyond the fact that Jonson was a literary hack, and prone to employ the same eulogistic phrases repeatedly. There is, however, a passage in the "Discoveries" which Mr. Morgan does not refer to, yet which, as it appears to us, may throw some light upon the manner in which Shakespeare worked, and which, if indeed he is the person referred to, must also be regarded as in part explaining the mystery of his productive period. The passage to which we refer is under the head, "Otium—Studium," and is as follows: "Ease and relaxation are profitable to all 'studies. The mind is like a bow, the 'stronger by being unbent. But the temper 'in spirits is all, when to command a man's 'wit, when to favor it. I have known a man 'vehement on both sides, that knew no 'mean, either to intermit his studies, or call 'upon them again. When he hath set himself 'to writing, he would join night to day, 'press upon himself without release, not 'minding it, till he faltered; and when he left 'off, resolve himself upon the passions and 'looseness again, that it was almost a 'despair to draw him to his book; but 'once got to it, he grew stronger and more 'earnest by the ease. His whole 'powers were renewed; he would work 'out of himself what he desired; but 'with such excess, as his study could not be 'ruled; he knew not how to dispose of his 'own abilities, or husband them, he was 'of that immoderate power against himself.' It is evident that Bacon is not referred to here, for Jonson devotes an entire article (*Dominus Verulamius*) to him, a little further on. Nor is the description at all applicable to Bacon's literary habits. He was composed, methodical, perfectly regulated in his methods of working. But even the loose tradition which has come down concerning Shakespeare justifies the conjecture that he was a man of strong passions and impulses, and, in fact, such a man as might very well have furnished the original of Jonson's anonymous portrait.

The Baconian Theory and the New Theory are open to much the same objections. They are explanations which do not explain. The idea that Bacon wrote the Shakespearean plays is really as fantastic as would be the assertion that Herbert Spencer had written the "Idylls of the King." In fact the reasoning upon which Bacon has been selected for this posthumous honor seems to us on a par with that which the negro in the story so acutely punctured. He was asked by a child why, being so big, he could not read. And he answered, "A cow's big enough to catch mice, honey, but she can't read." Now to suppose that because Bacon was a wise and learned man, therefore he should have been able to write the Shakespearean plays, is as irrational as to suppose that because a cow is big, she ought to be able to catch mice. Had Mr. Morgan undertaken a careful study of Bacon's writings he would probably have perceived that this trail at least was assuredly a blind one. But when Bacon is eliminated there is no left among the contemporaries of Shakespeare whom it is possible to think of for a moment as the author or joint author of these works. As to the hypothesis that certain unknown men of education and parts are represented here, it does not deserve consideration, for it is obviously much less credible than the original theory. The fact moreover that Shakespeare had enemies, and that these enemies were literary men, and consequently familiar with all the literary gossip and rumors of their time, may be taken as demonstrating that no report casting the least doubt upon his identity with the author of the plays and poems which bear his name, ever appeared. Greene's fierce attack upon him is evidently a deliberate endeavor to gather together the very worst that could be said of him, and all that this amounted to was a charge that Shakespeare had pilfered ideas or passages from some of his contemporaries. This is positively the most serious accusation ever brought against him, so far as we have any means of ascertaining, but there is (Mr. Morgan to the contrary notwithstanding) abundant evidence that he occupied a very exalted position in the estimation of the most competent critics of his own generation, and that no wonder was then expressed at the achievement of such literary feats by him. And this is highly important to remember, for it is clear that Shakespeare's work rose as high above that of his contemporaries as the pyramids rise above the Arab tents about their bases, and this supremacy was so unmistakable that it must have aroused jealousy and envy, and have secreted the publication of whatever derogatory facts could be gathered concerning so overshadowing a genius.

And it does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Morgan to insist upon the significance of Shakespeare's singular apparent indifference to his own literary productions; for inexplicable as this indifference may be, it must have been displayed in a still more remarkable manner by Bacon and his supposed collaborators, if we accept the New Theory. These men must have been unusually negligent of that which all men are most proud about. They must have















